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WE MUST NOT LET THEM DIE

Rosenbergs get brief stay; President is the last hope

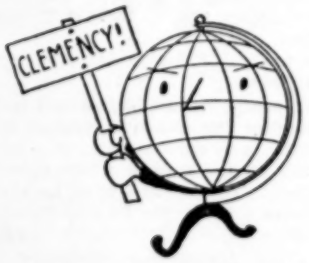
By Lawrence Emery

JUDGE Irving R. Kaufman—who sentenced Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to death as "atom spies"—last Monday granted the couple a stay of execution until the President can act upon a formal petition for executive clemency. Defense atty. Emanuel H. Bloch agreed to the condition that the petition be filed by Saturday. The stay came six days after Bloch had made a passionate plea to Judge Kaufman for a reduction of sentence (see p. 3); time for the execution had already been set for 11 P.M. Jan. 14.

The official petition will now be filed with Daniel Lyons, U. S. Pardon Atty., who will then ask for facts and recommendations from both judge and prosecution, forward this material with his own findings to the President.

President Truman's term expires Jan. 20. Should he fail to act on the petition before leaving office, it will automatically come before President-elect Eisenhower for decision.

3,000 IN WASHINGTON: Announcement of the stay came as upwards of 3,000 persons from all parts of the country were in Washington for a clemency gathering organized by the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. While the bulk of them marched in orderly ranks across the street from the White House, delegations spent the day visiting Senators, Congressmen and government officials, in most cases reported courteous and respectful treatment. An interview at the White House was denied, but White House officials arranged an interview with both Pardon Atty. Lyons and an exec. asst. to the Atty. General. The State Dept. also granted an appointment to a delegation.



Just before Bloch appeared before Judge Kaufman, the U.S. Court of Appeals had reserved decision on a stay to permit an appeal to the Supreme Court from an earlier ruling denying a new hearing. Even in its adverse ruling, the Appeals Court had conceded that the Rosenberg trial had been less than fair and that, had a new trial been asked for at the time, "it should have been granted."

SAYPOL "CONDEMNED": The three-judge court had castigated Irving Saypol, who won a federal judgeship following his prosecution of the Rosenbergs, in language seldom used in the decorous realm of the law. Citing Saypol's announcement to the press during the trial that he had secured a perjury indictment against one W. Perl and would call him as a witness to "prove" the charge against the defendants (Perl was neither brought to the stand nor ever called to trial), the court commented that "such tactics cannot be too severely condemned." It said:

> We must . . . assume that publication of the indictment was deliberately "timed" and that the statement attributed to Mr. Saypol was made by him. Such tactics cannot be too severely condemned. . . . Such a statement to the press in the course of a trial was wholly reprehensible.

This harsh criticism went unreported by the U. S. press. On the illogic of the court's position, the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case commented:

> To say that the Rosenbergs were entitled to a new trial many months ago, and yet to decline to grant them a new trial now, is incredible. . . . If a new trial in the words of the Appeals Court, "should have been granted" at that time, should the Rosenbergs die because they did not, at that time, move for one? To admit that there are grounds for calling the trial "unfair" and then to refuse to correct the wrong can only injure the reputation of our courts in the eyes of the American people and the world.

BLACKOUT TRY IN EUROPE: The reputation was already badly battered in the eyes of most of the world. In France last week virtually the entire press, from Left to Right, was uneasy (see Report to Readers). On Jan. 1 the conservative **Le Monde** quoted from the clemency appeal by Dr. Harold C. Urey, top atomic scientist (see p. 4), and made this point:

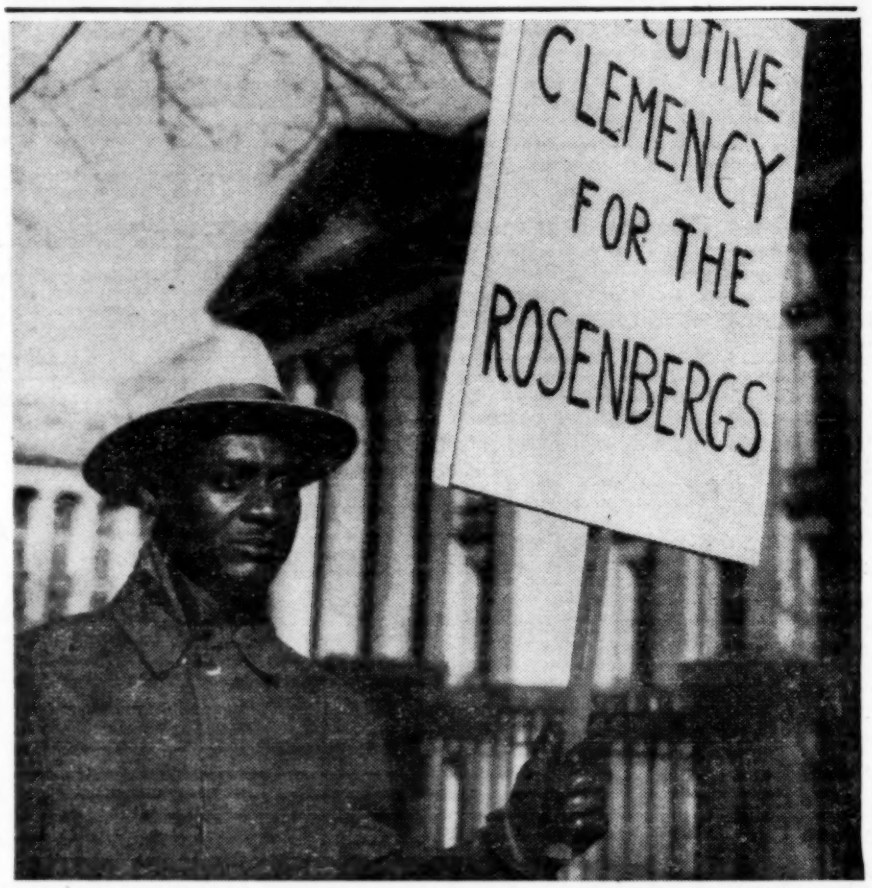
> Not a single wire service except Reuters [British], which gave a reduced version, has brought to the conscience of the public this important declaration of the atomic scientist Urey. Can it be that there is a conspiracy of silence?

Next day **Le Monde** published a front-page editorial on the case:

> Was Judge Kaufman moved by a desire to dissociate the Jewish community from misdeeds committed by co-religionists? Or did he simply wish to condemn them to death as an example, considering that the accused "had changed the course of history, delivered the atom bomb to the Russians and were responsible for the Communist aggression in Korea"?
>
> If clemency is not granted, Communist propaganda will make martyrs of the Rosenbergs. A serious uneasiness will persist in world opinion, which will be tempted to consider the Rosenbergs as the scapegoats of the spy scare, paying for the others, electrocuted as an example, expiatory victims of the cold war.

Le Temps Moderne, conservative cultural journal, this week is publishing a major article on the case by Jean-Paul Sartre, dramatist, novelist and Existentialist leader. Another article, calling for clemency and voicing doubts on the case, is appearing in the Catholic fortnightly **La Quinzaine.** Recurring note in conservative French press comment is fear of what the executions

(Continued on Page 4)



Guardian photo by Balcombe

HAVE YOU WRITTEN OR WIRED THE PRESIDENT YET?
It's the least you can do—it's the most you can do

HIS 5-YEAR FIGHT FOR JUSTICE IS OVER

Collis English: he got his freedom in death

AFTER five years in New Jersey prisons for a crime in which he could have had no part, 27-year-old Collis English was returned to his mother and sister for burial last week. He died of a heart ailment while awaiting his third trial as one of the Trenton Six, whose case was brought to the attention of the world by NATIONAL GUARDIAN in 1948. The six, all Negroes, were sentenced to death for murder. "Confessions" which they were said to have made to police were immediately repudiated by the six in court.

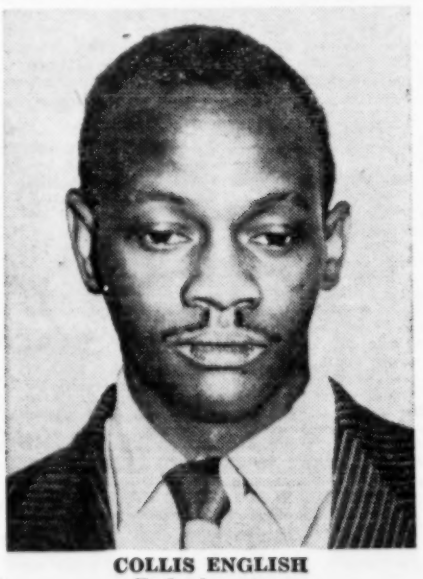
Since the original conviction, four of the six were freed in a new trial in June, 1951, and Collis English and Ralph Cooper returned to jail for life sentences as a result of a jury-room deal. On Nov. 24, 1952, a new trial was ordered for the remaining two by the N. J. Supreme Court. No date had been set at the time of Collis English's death but a campaign had already begun asking Gov. Driscoll to free both men.

NOW HE WAS KNOWN: When the Trenton police snatched Collis English from his home in February, 1948, in a roundup of young Negro men, he was 23 years old, newly released from the Navy and known to few in his community other than his mother and his sister, Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, and their neighbors.

Yet his funeral on Jan. 3 surpassed in size and significance that of any other individual in Trenton's history. The city's largest Negro church—Trenton's Union Baptist—was scarcely able to accommodate all who jammed its doors, filling every seat and literally every foot of standing space. The eventual funeral procession to the cemetery contained 49 coaches and cars and two buses.

Dignitaries and leaders of the Negro community attended from all over the state. So did professional men, businessmen, some 15 clergymen, all of whom spoke at the service; and officials of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Few if any of these had participated in the original fight to free the Trenton Six.

THE COMPARISON: "Oh God!" prayed a leading Trenton clergyman,



COLLIS ENGLISH
End of a story

"Grant us that some good might have come out of this service this morning—and out of the death of this man. . . ."

William L. Patterson, exec. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress, speaking from the pulpit, compared Collis English's death in prison with the execution of Willie McGee by the state of Mississippi, of Paul Washington by Louisiana and of the Martinsville Seven by Virginia.

Looking down into the open coffin, banked with floral offerings extending almost the width of the church, Patterson said:

> "Collis English, we who brought you from the death house pledge that those who murdered you will not go unpunished!"

From the row of clergymen behind him came the anxious admonition: "Be careful! Be careful!"

WHY? WHY? From the body of the church came the grief-laden voice of Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, whose life has been devoted for the last five years to seeking freedom for her brother:

> "Oh Lord! He was a good boy. He never hurt anyone. . . . He never even had a girl. . . .
>
> "Why did they murder him? Why, Lord, why, why?"

For burial, Collis English was dressed in his Navy dress uniform—it looked unused, as if there had never before been a suitable occasion to wear it. And at the cemetery there occurred one final fillip of irony. As the coffin was lowered, covered with the flag of his country, a volley of rifle fire came from a military guard of honor.

In death, at last, Collis English was one of his country's heroes.

William A. Reuben

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THIS OFFER TERMINATES ON JAN. 31. . . . The supply of "Abide With Me" is limited. Once these copies are gone, all requests will be filled with "We Can Be Friends."

THERE'S NOTHING TO FILL IN. Just check your FREE BOOK, then tear off this corner with your label on the reverse. (Check your name and address for correctness.) Put it in an envelope with $2 for 52 weeks (dollar bills are OK) and mail TODAY to

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THE MAIL BAG

Write to Eisenhower

LOWELL, MASS.

I think all of us should write to President-elect Eisenhower to impress him most emphatically that we want what so many people thought he promised during the political campaign, namely, PEACE, or at least hope of it.

With Stalin opening the door again for negotiations and Churchill coming over for a visit and Eisenhower about ready to take office, we must write now.

Gabriel Stepanian

A new deck

TOPEKA, KAN.

I was recently handed a copy of the GUARDIAN. I was rather amazed to find that it contained as much truth as it does. I have been active in the labor movement for over a half century, and had almost given up hope that the working class would ever use political sense.

The economic trend tody indicates that there must be unity on both the industrial and political field or labor will be forced to submit and become subservient to management; then the "freedom" that the trade unionist will have will be merely to obey the rules laid down by management.

The past administrations remind one of a card game. We had the New Deal and the Fair Deal. Wonder what the incoming administration will be? No doubt we'll have a re-deal by new shufflers, but they will probably use the same old deck. It appears to me that we should have a new deck, and new dealers to deal the cards.

J. T. Fidler

In the railway shops

GREAT FALLS, MONT.

I never throw away a GUARDIAN. Some are sent to England, others given to people around here. My husband took several copies over to the railway shops this morning. To many, the paper appears to be an eye opener, as it is hard for them to believe such dirty work is going on in the land of the free.

Lily McKenzie

The PW massacres

BRANDON, MAN., CANADA

The repeated accounts of unarmed prisoners slaughtered in cold blood in the POW camps of Korea should arouse revulsion, shame and anger in the hearts of all people who presume to be civilized, Christian or cultured.

There was a time when such conduct would arouse weighty columns of editorial condemnation in our daily press; when prime ministers and cabinets would publicly inveigh against such inhumanity.

The fact that here is no widespread public outcry at present, should not be taken as public approval. The people, even in Canada, are not unaware of the reality that Canada is an unwilling partner in such activities. There never was a more unpopular war. Korean veterans freely admit the inhuman savagery of the UN forces in their dealings with the Korean people.

Officially this shameful conduct is excused by the pretext that these unarmed people were attacking their guards and attempting to escape. Prisoners might attempt to escape from a compound, but how could they possibly escape from an island surrounded by U.S. sea power?

The perpetrators of this crime call the prisoners "hardened communists, undisciplined rabble," etc. There were plenty of incorrigible Nazis in Allied prisoner of war camps but in no instance was it found necessary to slaughter them.

The prolongation of the Korean war is widening the gap between possible east-west cooperation. Peace, trade and cultural exchange must replace war, blockade and racial superiority if civilization is to be saved. D. L. Johnson, M.D.

Thanks, Nick!

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Please excuse me for not sending you more money. I got my first pay check today and had to pay off my friends. Next week I shall send you one buck as I will do every week. I think your paper is the best in this country and I am glad to help you out even if it is not much. I am glad that someone is fighting the generals so that I and kids my age won't have to go to war in three years. It's such a shame that everybody in the U.S. can't read your wonderful paper. I know that in my school I've talked with plenty of kids who want peace in Korea but don't know how we can achieve it. If they had read your paper they would know and would now be fighting for peace like you're doing.

Nick Granick

The law in Chicago

CHICAGO, ILL.

I am a cab driver and my employer is a Negro. My fellow workers are both Negro and white and our relationship is very good and could be much better if we had a good labor union in which to fraternalize.

Many intersections in Chicago are covered with NO PARKING signs, but it isn't unusual to see taxicabs parked in the wee hours of the morning taking a chance on snagging just one more fare to help pay high prices, taxes and milk for the babies. It was in one of these ungodly hours that a police officer saw fit to give me a ticket for violation of parking rules.

Now I don't want to condone the breaking of traffic rules, but after this cop had written the ticket he tried to involve me in an argument in the following manner: "What the h--l, aren't you a white man? Then why are you driving a n----r cab?"

It was then that I knew why I was penalized for such a minor offense, while others are not. And now I know why the police do nothing to protect lives and property of citizens from organized mob violence, when these citizens entertain Negro guests in their homes.

A Chicago cab driver

How crazy can you get dept.

One of the chief reasons for the increasing unrest in Kenya, the British Crown Colony in East Africa, is the rising standard of living. It seems that the more successful the British have become in raising the standards of living among the natives, the more the area has become congested and the more dissatisfied the people have become with their lot.

From an editorial, Dec. 25, in the Spokane (Wash.) Spokesman-Review.

One year free sub to the sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Paul R. Emerson, Spokane, who says: "The entire rag can qualify daily for your dept."

The perfect system

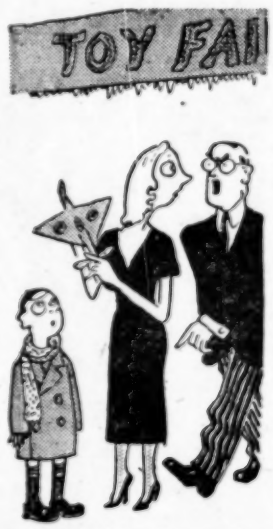
OAKLAND, CALIF.

Bring the good old bugle, boys;
Let's have another war.
Prosperity is crumbling, boys,
Depression is in store
So oil the gears with blood, m'lads,
To keep them turning o'er—
While we go marching through China.

Dupont's dashing dividends
Will never stay on top.
So say the saucy communists—
Such predictions we must stop!
Abundance must be put in bombs;
War orders run the shop—
While we go marching through Prussia.

The hoppers all glut up again
With goods we cannot buy,
And factories will shut down again
If prices aren't sky-high.
Profits must be lush, m'lads
So let's go out and die—
While we go marching through Russia.

Knott Sherman



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Heavens, Miss Loveday! Don't you realize that model hasn't come off the Secret List?"

Need any cash?

PARIS, FRANCE

I wonder if you've heard this story that appeared in the Paris-Presse?

Gen. Franco asked Washington for more American aid. He said he was a great bulwark against communism. Authorities in Washington asked him how many Communists he had in Spain. Said Franco: "Oh, none. I have thrown them all out of the country."

Washington replied coldly that in that case he did not need any more aid. Franco, much upset, sent word to Italy: "Send me all the Communists that you possibly can; I need them badly." Italy replied: "Sorry, we can't spare any. We need them all ourselves. Do you think we can get American aid without them?"

Dorothy H.

Free rides and candy

FLUSHING, N. Y.

So help me, I overhead the following between two pre-teen-agers on the subway:

"Everything should be free."

"Whadayamean?"

"Well/— suppose you own this subway."

"Yeah?"

"Well, you should let me ride on it for nothing, see?"

"Oh yeah?"

"Yeah. And if I own a candy store you could come and take all the candy you want. See?"

At this point I had to get off. But I kept thinking that's a pretty good idea that kid had. I wonder why somebody hasn't thought of it before.

Ken Harvey

Right of criticism

OAK PARK, ILL.

Enclosed is a $10 money order to help maintain your paper. It is not to be considered an affirmation on my part of your paper's policies and opinions. It is solely an attempt to maintain the right of public criticism by all—a right that has been viciously attacked lately.

D. Morrice

For Alec Shalit

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

Am enclosing a $10 check, a contribution in memory of my departed husband, Alec Shalit. Reading your paper has been a comfort to me — knowing that you're right there pitching for Peace, for Truth and the Bill of Rights—writing and presenting the news as the news should be presented — all against such heavy odds.

Miriam Shalit

A Labor Party

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The deaths of both Murray and Green symbolize the impending end of an era of class collaboration. No matter how conciliatory labor acts—it now faces an administration which is the unconcealed voice of monopoly capital. Taft has already stated his intentions to press for more anti-labor legislation.

Ford Local 600, at a meeting of 165 elected delegates—representing 50,000 auto workers—adopted two motions—both calling on the local Political Action Committee and the national CIO bodies to begin taking formative steps toward organizing a Labor Party.

Progressive Party prospects are dimmed because of a liberal-capitalist program. The PP must not attempt to wave this flag again but to adopt a socialist, anti-war, anti-capitalist platform. The main task of the PP is to adopt such a program—then to utilize its cadres and facilities for the education of the working class—toward socialism.

A Progressive

Rats with pants

FOSTORIA, O.

Your article on Mrs. Harvey Sydow, R. L. Caulder and Fyke Farmer (who really has our old lying, inhuman war-mongering rats by the seat of the pants), plus your facts NOT found in our "paytriotic" sheets, sure deserves the assistance of every local citizen. This accounts for the check, and the following list which I trust will continue to be subscribers to your paper for long years to come

E. W. Emerson

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REPORT ON THE ROSENBERGS

Tell the President TODAY to spare these 2 lives

AS THIS ISSUE of the GUARDIAN goes to press, a brief stay has been granted in the Rosenberg Case to permit the defense to enter an appeal to the White House for executive clemency.

The appeal will be formally made by Saturday, Jan. 10.

Therefore it is most vital that your personal appeal for executive clemency reach the White House immediately—and that you convince as many people as possible to take like action without a day's delay.

The legal formalities of processing such an appeal may occupy a few days before the plea officially reaches the President's desk. But there is absolutely no time to be lost.

There is no certainty that President Truman will act immediately on the plea, if at all. Therefore your communication should be addressed simply to The President, White House, Washington, D. C., and not specifically to either President Truman or President-elect Eisenhower, before whom the appeal would remain if President Truman failed to act on it.

ALTHOUGH THE BREADTH OF THE APPEAL for clemency goes far beyond the so-called "Left" origin of the campaign, the attacks on it on this score have nevertheless immobilized thousands of people who in their hearts want the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg spared.

You can be of inestimable help in urging some of these people to act in the name of humanity.

An argument made to order for such instances was presented last week in France's leading right-wing newspaper **Figaro**, a publication comparable to the Republican N. Y. **Herald Tribune** but with a much larger circulation.

Figaro's statement, under the byline of the well-known conservative French journalist Roger Massip, follows:

Basing ourselves only on humanity, we would like to hope that when President Truman studies the damning record of the case he will not turn his back upon clemency.

Such a gesture would establish in the eyes of world opinion that the conception of justice is totally different in the free world than in countries where the simple fact of being a deviationist leads to the hangman.

The **Figaro** statement makes the appeal for clemency for the Rosenbergs virtually unanimous in the press of the nation in which the memory—and the shame—of the Dreyfus Case is still very live. The center-conservative **Le Monde**, more comparable to the N.Y. **Times**, has already advocated clemency—expressing, for its part, serious reservations about the trial.

SUCH CONCERN IN THE ENTIRE PRESS of France, over a mercy plea confronting the President of the United States, indicates the importance with which the case is regarded in a pivotal nation involved in the wavering North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The failure of any significant segment of the American press similarly to advocate clemency makes it immeasurably more important that the White House be made aware of the breadth of popular feeling against the executions.

Don't take any chances that your voice may not be heard. WRITE OR WIRE TODAY TO THE WHITE HOUSE. Get your friends to do so, too. No action we have ever urged upon you is of higher importance. —THE EDITORS

THE APPEAL FOR CLEMENCY BEFORE JUDGE KAUFMAN

'You have a terrible responsibility, Your Honor': Application denied

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special correspondent

TRIAL Judge Irving R. Kaufman, closing his ears to world-wide clamor, refused last week to modify his sentence of death on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The last hope for justice and life lay in the White House just as it was about to change tenants.

As the final scene in Judge Kaufman's court was enacted Dec. 30, all the passions and prejudices of this era of hot and cold wars were strained almost to breaking point. The 200 or more persons who crowded the courtroom—Julius Rosenberg's family sat in the front row—can never forget the surging emotions loosed in this next-to-last desperate appeal. There were overcharged moments: when defense atty. Emanuel Bloch, his legal arguments exhausted, begged as one human being to another for a spark of compassion; when Judge Kaufman, acknowledging his own humanity, clasped his head in his hands and cried, "Oh, God! No!"; when the prosecutotr shouted, "We mean business!" to prove to the world with two deaths that "this is a new era."

JUDGE IRVING KAUFMAN
"Oh, God! Don't do that. . . ."

"THERE MUST BE SOMETHING": Facing the court for his clients, Emanuel Bloch stood alone, as he has in the dogged, stubborn, 2½-year-long legal fight since the Rosenbergs were first arrested. Now, with all legal appeals exhausted, the "single practitioner" began his plea for mercy with the declaration that he felt "inadequate" to the heavy responsibility that was his: to convince the sentencing judge that "there must be something about this case that has so aroused the world." He cited the "millions wherever human beings are literate" who have expressed their concern for the fate of the Rosenbergs. He produced the newest international appeal—a cablegram signed by 15 members of Israel's parliament which had arrived just as he left for the courtroom:

> We, the undersigned members of the Knesset, express our deepest protest against the death sentence pronounced against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and join all those who request their reprieve.

Bloch said that as a member of the bar he was constrained to accept the jury's verdict, but reminded the court that his clients never have: in their petition for clemency they reiterate their innocence and plead not for mercy but "only justice." Their petition said:

> We seek relief from sentences that would produce the unutterable tragedy of the destruction of our small family, and set a precedent for the abandonment, in America, of the civilized appreciation of the worth of human life.

THE DOORS OF JUSTICE: The Rosenbergs wrote that they are fully aware that if they expressed "the conventional penitence and remorse," their lives would be spared. Bloch suggested that the judge must surely have wondered why "these two humble people who come from a humble background" had persistently denied to themselves the one sure way to escape death. The judge, troubled-looking, said:

> "Yes, Mr. Bloch, I've pondered that over and over and over."

Then he appealed to the attorney to be "tolerant." He said he had "been hounded and pounded and vilified and pressured" but was convinced that "someone is whipping it up":

> "I can assure you that neither side can affect my judgment in this case. When the day comes when we succumb to pressure we might as well close the doors of justice."

"PRESUMPTUOUS" UREY: Throughout the remainder of Bloch's argument. Kaufman repeatedly interjected comments to justify his own conduct and rulings. To such protestations Bloch replied solemnly:

> "There is just something about this case that is not right."

He cited letters to the judge by such eminent scientists and humanitarians as Rabbi Hillel Silver, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Dr. Edward U. Condon, and Nobel Prize winner Dr. Harold C. Urey who played a key role in developing the atom bomb (see text, p. 4). Reference to the Urey letter angered the judge; he demanded to know how it had become available to the press, was reminded that filing of the defense petition made it a public document. For Urey's plea—an act of courage which Urey himself emphasized by underscoring his opposition to left-wing persons and politics—Kaufman had this to say:

> "I think that is the most presumptuous thing he could do. Really, Mr. Bloch, how much weight can I give to a letter like that?"

BRUSHED-OFF ISSUES: To Bloch's argument that there is "not one iota of documentary evidence in this case," the judge responded:

> "Yes, and I suppose if there were documents you'd say they were doctored."

So it went for more than two hours, with a quick retort from the judge for every issue: the FBI's admission of having suborned perjury from the government's "surprise" witnesses; the "virulent atmosphere" that preceded and surrounded the trial; the manner in which "prosecuting officials tried the case in the press before we came into court"; the prosecution's inflammatory injection into the trial of "all the bogey

men of our current era"; the absurdity of Greenglass' scientific testimony; the fact that the "thousands of FBI agents" assigned to the case could not "uncover one scrap of evidence to support these accusations" of the Greenglasses; and that "we would have to throw reality to the winds" to be unwilling to concede that to some degree

> ". . . the jury's verdict was dictated by their belief that the Rosenbergs were Communists."

THE LAST APPEAL: When Bloch reminded the judge that "once the current passes through the bodies of the Rosenbergs nothing in the world can ever be done to correct the wrong done to them, to their children and to American justice," Kaufman said:

> "That argument could be applied to every case that has ever been tried in a court of law."

Toward the end, when Bloch implored the judge to consider all the "lingering doubts" in the case and to remember that "there is no appeal from what you do here today," he made one concession:

> "I don't want you to think I would forestall your pleas for Presidential pardon."

THE MIRROR: For a last time, Bloch tried to reach through to the judge, pleaded with him to ask himself why this case has caused "people throughout the world to look critically at American justice, to say that this is a barbaric sentence." The judge replied:

> "I assume they never read the record."

Bloch's time and arguments had both run out. It was the moment when, with courtroom decorum, he should thank the judge and quietly sit down. But he hesitated, looking squarely at the judge, then cried out:

> "God! Your Honor! You have a heart. Please—please think! Consult your conscience! They have children whom they love as dearly as you love yours!"

Abruptly he stopped, seemed about to apologize for an unseemly outburst. But then, with time ticking toward

EMANUEL BLOCH
Day and night

death, he said with unabashed passion:

> "We've got to survive. We've got to live with ourselves. We've got to get up and look at ourselves in our mirrors! Please! Please! I'll get on my knees to plead with you, if . . ."

The shaken judge clasped his head:

> "Oh, God! No! Please don't do that!"

VOICES FROM HISTORY: Bloch's last words were delivered almost sobbing:

> "What you do not only affects the Rosenbergs — it affects literally tens of millions of people. . . . YOUR sentence may alter the course of history. . . . You have a terrible responsibility, Your Honor. I don't envy you that responsibility. . . . Please, Your Honor, Don't follow in the tradition of Judge Thayer."

With that, the "single practitioner" was done. No lone man could ever have done more. The last reference was to Judge Webster Thayer who sentenced Sacco and Vanzetti to death. In an unsteady voice Kaufman said:

> "The people who may regard me that way are people who don't want to know the facts."

Government attorneys took over: Myles J. Lane and his assistant, James D. Kilsheimer 3rd, were insistent on death. To them the world-wide campaign for the Rosenbergs was

> ". . . a conspiracy by the Soviet Union to make this case a cause celebre. It is a new wave of espionage!"

"DIABOLICAL CONSPIRACY": From Bloch came a last word when they finished. In his 28 years of legal practice, he said, he had never heard an approach to law that was so "shocking and narrow." He told the court that "it's so easy to say the communists inspired all this" but:

> "This is a free country! . . . We still have a right to speak out! This case is no longer a case of two individuals."

Three days later Judge Kaufman rendered his decision: Application denied. To him the Rosenbergs' guilt was "beyond doubt." Charges of perjury were "baseless." Death was demanded by his "devotion to duty and justice." He was still of the mind that "their crime was worse than murder":

> "Nor have I seen any evidence that the defendants have experienced any remorse or repentance."

The matter of "repentance" and "confession" weighed most heavily with him. He quoted his own original decision and added:

> "Neither defendant has seen fit to follow the course of David Greenglass and Harry Gold. Their lips have been sealed and they prefer the glory which they believe will be theirs by the martyrdom which will be bestowed upon them by those who enlisted them in this diabolical conspiracy (and who, indeed, desire them to remain silent)."

"BEFORE GOD & MAN": The day after the decision, Bloch took the two Rosenberg children, Michael, 9, and Robert, 5, to visit their parents in Sing Sing's death house. He told reporters after the visit: "There were no tears." Both children are aware of the impending death sentence.

For Kaufman's final ruling, the Rosenbergs had this reply:

> "Is there no end to the indignities we must endure? Casuistry upon casuistry! By what remarkable sleight-of-hand can the constitutional petitions of decent citizens for redress of grievances be transformed into vilification and abuse! The judge's reported characterization of our alleged crime as 'worse than murder' completely unmasks his sanctimonious pretensions to judicial balance. Despite his unseemly remarks, which smack of political pressure and coercion, we reassert our innocence before God and man."

DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY
A distinguished protest

Iceland too

In lawyer Emanuel Bloch's apartment, after the visit of the Rosenberg children to their parents in Sing Sing death house last week, 9-year-old Michael lay with his head in the lap of Mrs. Bloch, who sought to comfort him.

"You will see them again," she said. "We really believe it—because millions are angry about this all over the world, and the people who want to kill mommy and daddy **must** listen to them."

Michael had been studying the atlas. "Where are the people angry?" he asked. "What countries?"

"Oh—in France, England, Israel, India, Poland . . ."

"But what about Iceland?" Michael asked. "Are they angry in Iceland?"

That same day the GUARDIAN received this telegram:

REYKJAVIK

NEWS ROSENBERGS GOING TO DIE PROFOUNDLY SHOCKED WORLD. WE SHOULD LIKE TO JOIN OUR VOICES IN PROTEST. IF THIS "LEGAL" MURDER IS CARRIED THROUGH IT WILL FAN ANTI-AMERICANISM BURSTING INTO FLAMES IN EUROPE AND EVERYWHERE.

MAGNUS KJARTANSSON,
SIGURDUR GUDMUNDSSON

AT THE SIGN OF THE AMERICAN DOLLAR

How Israel got caught in the Cold War pincers

By Ursula Wassermann
GUARDIAN special correspondent
(Second of two articles)

TEL AVIV

WHEN some of the emotions aroused by the Prague trial will have spent themselves, sober-minded persons in Israel and without will begin to ask themselves how all this came about. Trials, like any other political event, do not happen in a vacuum; developments of recent years, and Israel's foreign policy and place in today's dynamic world pattern, will bear reassessment.

In 1948, during the war of liberation, the socialist world's reservoir of goodwill toward the Jewish people was full to overflowing. In UN, Gromyko had supported the Jewish people's claim to independence, and arms were flowing in from Czechoslovakia, aiding Jewish youth in its fight for freedom against a foreign imperialism. That Israel has only four years later fallen into the socialist world's bad graces puzzles many here, even among those whose emotions have not carried them away.

Yet this turn of events, while indeed dramatic, has not been as sudden as it appears to some. Relations between Israel and the socialist countries had been deteriorating for some time.

THE PRICE OF AID: The policy of non-identification with either Cold War camp has long been abandoned. Almost from the outset—at first hardly perceptibly, later at an ever-increasing speed—Israel has been drifting into the Western camp.

Some observers here, indeed, wonder if such a policy ever existed in fact, or could exist save as a pious dream. From the beginning of statehood, Israel relied almost exclusively on aid from the U. S., regardless of whether it came in the form of government grants-in-aid, loans, or private capital investment. Such aid is at no time apt to be given without the expectation of some services in return; in the present Cold War

period, returns for the aid are most certainly expected. Official identification with the West presumably began over Korea. A year ago Israel's Abba Eban told the UN General Assembly in Paris: "Collective resistance to aggression in Korea remains one of the proudest achievements of our organization." Since then Israeli statesmen have been more rather than less outspoken, until Moshe Sharett told a party meeting here in October:

> "It is true that the world is now full of psychoses; but they have been caused solely by the Communist menace."

"SAVED" FROM SOCIALISM: Yet until recently relations with the Eastern bloc were very correct, if not cordial. The rate of Jewish emigration from Eastern and Central Europe remained until about a year ago fairly fast; at least half of the mass immigration—which has more than doubled Israel's Jewish population since 1948, from just over 600,000 to 1,450,000—came from those countries, while settlers from Anglo-Saxon countries number but a few thousand.

The Zionist movement has always insisted on total emigration from the socialist countries, ingathering of all exiles. This policy can never have appealed much to the People's Democracies who, facing an initial shortage of skilled labor and technical experts, must have been loath to let Jews in these categories emigrate. But while Israeli statemen insisted on "saving" the Jews of E. Europe, they never tried to impose their salvation on the Jews of the West. As Israel moved more and more into the Western orbit, it was logical that restrictions should be imposed on any further large-scale emigration from the East.

THE DOLLAR: In the meantime, the vacuum left by the departure of the British was quickly filled by the Americans, so that freedom from British rule has in large measure resulted in dependence on U. S. dollars. This development is not confined to Israel, but is typical of many under-developed countries today and of the shift of emphasis in terms of power, as N. Africa, Iran and Egypt will testify.

Most of Israel's vital imports originate in the dollar area, which inevitably leads to growing indebtedness and thus growing dependence. Trade with the East had almost stopped (although a trickle of commerce with Czechoslovakia and Poland remains) until a new trade agreement concerning citrus fruit was recently signed with the U. S. S. R.

THE COLLAR: The economic and political crisis Israel faces today cannot be laid at the door of mass immigration, for Jews arriving since the state was established hardly equal in number the Arabs who have left: the population to be supported today, in the part of Palestine that is now Israel, is no larger than it was before. If many of the immigrants have not been absorbed into the country's economy and remain un- or semi-productive, this is in large part due to failure to carry out long-range developments in favor of short-term import programs, failure to mobilize domestic capital and control capital flight in favor of heavy concessions to foreign capital.

U. S. capital has already bought a large share in Israel's banking, shipping, utilities, potash and more recently road transport; it will enjoy substantial concessions under the new Oil Law. The ties to the dollar market will be reinforced through the reparations agreement with W. Germany in which U. S. capital has a vital stake.

Thus tied, a small country like Israel becomes an inevitable pawn in the game of dollar diplomacy—with all its political, economic and military implications.

When justice is just

Federal Judge Frank L. Loeb of Toledo, Ohio, refused to sentence a bank clerk convicted of embezzling $7,500 from the First Natl. Bank at nearby Baltimore, Ohio.

The judge said not the clerk but the bank should have been indicted—for paying such low wages. The convicted clerk, George W. Sponsler, had begun work at the bank in 1920 for $1,080 a year, earned $1,900 in 1942. He goes free.

Rosenbergs get stay

(Continued from Page 1)

will do to the remnants of U. S. prestige in Western Europe.

BRITAIN: Similar sentiments have been expressed in Britain; the influential pro-Labour **New Statesman & Nation** commented recently:

> If Mr. Truman is wise, one of his last acts as President would be to commute this sentence. . . .

Said the London **Jewish Chronicle** in an editorial supporting clemency:

> The conscience of the civilized world will be disturbed if the Rosenbergs die.

From Britain came an appeal for clemency signed by 46 leading authors, including Sir Herbert Read (recently knighted), Ethel Mannin, Douglas Goldring, Sylvia Townsend Warner (frequent **New Yorker** contributor), and James Aldridge.

CANADA: Toronto's Massey Hall last Sunday attracted the largest audiences in Canada in recent years for a Rosenberg rally addressed by Albert E. Kahn, noted U. S. author and GUARDIAN contributor. More than 2,000 attended and sent that many letters to Truman from the meeting. The rally was preceded by a demonstration before the U. S. Consulate. On Monday the first round-the-clock vigil in the history of Canada began its slow pacing before the U. S. Embassy in Ottawa to protest the Rosenberg sentences.

GERMANY: A mass rally for the Rosenbergs was scheduled in East Berlin for last Tuesday with Gerhart Eisler, former E. German information chief, as principal speaker.

CHINA: From Peking came a protest against the executions signed by the 14 largest membership organizations in the country, including the All China Fedn. of Labor.

INDIA: An appeal for clemency also came from the All India Trade Union Congress.

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In Washington the 24-hour-a-day Clemency Vigil, which began on Dec. 27, will continue its solemn patrol near the White House, through all weather, until the Rosenbergs' lives are saved or the case is closed.

DR. UREY'S LETTER TO JUDGE KAUFMAN

'I am amazed and completely outraged'

The following letter was sent Dec. 16 as an appeal for clemency to Judge Irving Kaufman by the famed atomic physicist and Nobel Prize winner Harold C. Urey of the University of Chicago. A letter of similar content was sent by Dr. Urey to the N. Y. "Times" for publication. The "Times" did not print the letter on the ground that it had quoted from Dr. Urey's letter to Kaufman in its news columns.

Dear Judge Kaufman:

I am writing to urge you to change the sentence of death imposed on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to a lesser punishment. I have read the testimony given at the trial, and though I have no legal experience in matters of this kind my competence is comparable to that of the jurors and the great public who are concerned about this matter.

My reaction to the testimony is as follows:

(1) The testimony of Max Elitcher was not entirely credible to me. He did not implicate the Rosenbergs of his own knowledge. He says they talked about espionage but never transferred any information for some five years.

(2) No certain connection with espionage involving Sobell and the Rosenbergs is established. Elitcher does not know that Sobell actually delivered secret documents to Rosenberg. No other connection is suggested.

(3) The connections to others than David and Ruth Greenglass are not established. Could not Miss Bentley's informer have used "This is Harold" instead of "This is Julius," and then might not I have been on trial? She was unable to identify her "Julius" with Julius Rosenberg. If this "Julius" did not refer to him in this case, it probably did not when Harry Gold said, "I come from Julius." Gold apparently knew nothing of Rosenberg at all. It seems incredible to me that the name of the arch-spy should be used in an identification code.

(4) No contact between the Rosenbergs and Anatoli A. Yakovlev is established.

(5) The government's case rests on the testimony of David and Ruth Greenglass, and this was flatly contradicted by Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. I found the testimony of the Rosenbergs more believable than that of the Greenglasses. Is it customary for spies to be paid in console tables and wrist watches? Gold, Greenglass, and Fuchs were paid in cash. Again, do spies talk about their activities with college friends and relatives? Gold and Fuchs did not. Does Julius Rosenberg appear to be a man who would spend $50 or $75 a night in Manhattan night clubs? Not to me. Would the master spy want Rosenberg throwing money about recklessly and thus making himself obviously and unaccountably rich to associates? He appears to have been as poor as a church mouse, and would be quite out of character in an expensive night club. Evidently the jury and Court believed David and Ruth Greenglass, and of course they had the advantage of listening to them directly.

DR. HAROLD UREY
The lady said "Julius"

However, accepting the verdict as correct, I am amazed and completely outraged by the unequal punishment which has been given. For the same crime Ruth Greenglass is never brought to trial though she admitted her guilt under oath; David Greenglass gets 15 years imprisonment; Morton Sobell and Harry Gold get 30 years imprisonment; and Ethel and Julius Rosenberg get death. Only the last two took the witness stand and maintained that they are innocent, and they were convicted on testimony which I do not believe is conclusive beyond a reasonable doubt. If we are going to begin to give the death penalty for espionage, I should like to have it introduced in a case in which the guilt is certain. There is the consideration that helping the prosecution justifies lower sentences, but in spite of this I find the disparity of sentences most unjust.

We are engaged in a cold war in which the loyalty and approval of the good people of the world are important objectives. I believe the Rosenbergs are or have been Communists or very sympathetic to Communist ideas. I regard such people as unreliable generally, but I do not believe in punishing people unless they commit crimes. Would it not be embarrassing in this general situation if after execution of the Rosenbergs it could be shown that the United States had executed two innocent people and let the guilty one go free? And, of course, somewhere there is a representative of the U. S. S. R., probably Yakovlev, who knows the answer with certainty.

I strongly urge a careful reconsideration of this sentence.

Very sincerely yours,
HAROLD C. UREY

FREEDOMS

Congressmen scramble for witch-hunt jobs

CONGRESSIONAL drum-beaters, vying for top posts in the investigating business, dinned the old year out last week with flaming red-scare headlines and noisy threats of worse to come in 1953. Not all the targets of the probers were of the badly-mauled Left: the year ended with Secy. of State Acheson himself on the stand under sweeping charges of coddling "subversive" Americans in UN employ. As new chairmanships of Congressional committees shaped up, it appeared that Democrats—particularly the last New Deal and Fair Deal remnants—will be increasingly under attack.

In the new Congress there will be 4 full-time red-hunting groups (how many extra and special ones will be created is open to speculation):

- The House Committee on Un-American Activities; new chairman: Rep. Harold Himmel Velde (R-Ill.), an ex-FBI agent.
- The Senate Internal Security (McCarran) Subcommittee; new chairman undecided.
- The Senate Investigating Committee, a subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations; new chairman: Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.).
- The House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Dept., with broad investigative powers; new chairman: Rep. Clare Hoffman (R-Mich.), a Rankin-type red-baiter.

MORE OF THE SAME: In the Senate a dog-fight is brewing for chief role; there is also rivalry between Senate and House.

In line for chairmanship of Sen. McCarran's Senate Judiciary Committee, parent body of the Internal Security Subcommittee, is Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.) who so strenuously opposed the McCarran Internal Security Act in 1950 that he collapsed on the Senate floor after talking against it in an all-night session. Speculation that he might allow the subcommittee's authority to expire ended last week when he announced he would seek its extension and more funds. His explanation:

> "Their work in the UN entitles them to a continuation."

Sen. Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.) made a public bid for chairmanship of the subcommittee. In a series of articles he promised that under his lead the committee would continue its harassment of the UN because it harbors American "subversives" and "spies"; hunt reds in the armed forces; continue its sniffing in trade unions, schools, the entertainment industry and youth organizations.

THE UNION-BUSTERS: In a year-end report, the McCarran Committee released the text of recent hearings conducted against the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, and expressed the hope that "the revelations . . . will encourage the entire membership to revolt." It recommended legislation barring members of "communist organizations" from holding any union office and permitting employers to discharge any employe charged with membership in an organization listed by the Attorney General as "subversive."

Mine, Mill leaders called the charges against the union "unfounded, undocumented and foolish," charged that the transcript contained distortions and deletions, accused the committee again of trying to wreck the union.

REP. HAROLD VELDE
The stops are all out

SEN. PAT McCARRAN
A veteran questioner answers a few questions

Sen. McCarthy made it clear that he intends to muscle in on McCarran's territory, has some spectacular probes of his own in mind. Columnist Robert S. Allen reported (N.Y. **Post**, Dec. 31) that he even plans to subpena and grill Harry Truman after he leaves office. Last week the Senator announced that U.S. colleges will be one of his first targets, predicted that "all hell" will break loose with "screaming of interference with academic freedom."

Herblock in Washington **Post**

THE BOOKWORMS

JOE GETS JOE A MEDAL: McCarthy was already raiding the staff of the McCarran Committee, reportedly is hiring its special counsel Robert Morris. Other prospects: Roy M. Cohn of the Justice Dept., who assisted in the Rosenberg prosecution and worked closely with the McCarran Committee in its UN probe; Robert Kennedy of Boston whose father, former ambassador to Britain Joseph Kennedy, made a sizeable campaign contribution to McCarthy.

At the year's end McCarthy became a self-appointed war hero; after much arm-twisting and solicitation, he was awarded the Navy's Distinguished Flying Cross and an Air Medal. His service record has never been made public; many dispute his claim to valor.

EVERYBODY'S HUNTING: It was reported last week that of 222 Republicans in the House, 191 have applied for membership on the House Un-American Activities Committee (there are only two Republican vacancies). Ten Democrats applied for non-existent vacancies for their party. There was talk the committee might be enlarged. Its new chairman Velde has announced that, like the Senate committees, one of his first targets will be schools and colleges. His leadership was expected to be aggressive; a spokesman said he will "pick up the reins, take the bull by the horns and walk off with it."

Back in Congress is Martin Dies (D-Tex.) who founded the committee in the early '30's. Talk was that he would be kept off the committee, but he threatened independent action and said he would seek legislation

> ". . . enlarging the scope of the committee so as to include Socialists and all those who don't believe in our form of government."

He also said he has his own list of "about 100,000 names of persons engaged in subversive activities."

DEATH PENALTY SOUGHT: In its annual report the committee called for, among other things:

- A permanent government agency to hunt for "subversives" holding trade union office.
- Application of the war-time death sentence for espionage in peace-time.
- Tighter passport laws.
- A new law against unauthorized transport across state lines of classified government documents.
- Legalization of wire-tapping.
- Immediate application of the McCarran Act provision making it a crime for any member of a "subversive" organization to seek employment in "defense areas."

Much of the committee's 89-page report listed the name, address and occupation of all the persons identified before it as "subversive" in 1952.

ACHESON ON STAND: Most of the year-end headlines were captured by a House Judiciary subcommittee investigating charges that State and Justice Dept. officials had sought to suppress or delay a federal grand jury presentment criticizing both departments for laxity in screening U. S. employes of the UN. Acheson, on the stand the last day of the year, denied that "subversives" in UN employ were a threat to U.S. security; they just made the U.S. look bad.

Some 29 U.S. nationals (there are 2,000 in the UN) have been fired by Secy.-Gen. Trygve Lie since the charges were first made. Last Friday, the committee made public the names of 10 others "believed to be Communists." In reply to Lie's complaint that the U.S. government gave him too little information too late to act against those accused, the President was ready to sign an executive order requiring a full FBI probe of all Americans hired by the UN in the future. It seemed Acheson had few advocates left.

Another investigating committee—a House group looking for subversion in tax-exempt foundations—finished up its work at the end of the year after jeopardizing the careers and livelihoods of a number of prominent persons. The day after its labors were done, its chairman, Rep. E. Eugene Cox (D-Ga.), long-time foe of anything progressive, died of a heart ailment. His widow announced she will campaign for his seat in Congress.

FREE-LOADING PAT: As Sen. McCarran, champion red-hunter of the year, was preparing to relinquish chairmanship of his committee, he was answering a few questions himself. A defendant in an anti-trust suit charging him and some 50 Nevada hotel and gambling house operators with conspiring to destroy an opposition newspaper in his home state by withdrawing advertising, he made these admissions:

- That he eats and sleeps on the house in swank Las Vegas hotels;
- That during his last campaign he accepted free office space in one of them;
- That he once interceded in a tax case in behalf of the lush gambling house built by gangster "Buggsy" Siegel, who was murdered in 1947.

INDIA'S PROPOSAL FOR KOREA PEACE

Clearing up some confusion

SOME readers complain of confusion caused by GUARDIAN coverage of India's UN proposals on POW repatriation, which we at first reported as raising hopes for peace in Korea. We sympathize with the confusion but plead not guilty to causing it. Since there are two sides in a war, any hope of a truce must be based on a formula potentially acceptable to both. The confuser was India's Krishna Menon, who fostered the idea that his resolution (submitted to UN Nov. 17) had Peking's prior approval. That this was not the case was admitted Dec. 15 by Premier Nehru, who told India's parliament that when "basic provisions" of the resolution were communicated on Nov. 2 to Peking, China had

> ". . . made it clear that they were entirely opposed to voluntary repatriation."

China had neither "approved nor disapproved" of whatever India disclosed of its proposals in advance, said Nehru, but merely "appreciated our efforts to help in bringing about a peaceful settlement."

CLEARLY there never was any hope for the resolution if one side was called on to make all the concessions. But while Menon consulted Western delegations at UN and (as the GUARDIAN warned at the outset was probable) began a series of modifications to accommodate the U.S. position on POW repatriation, China's objections were ignored. Menon admitted his government's awareness of these objections (indicating that China was by now questioning specific provisions of his resolution), but never even told UN what they were.

The insincerity of Washington's enthusiasm for the "peace formula" became clear when at the end of the debate Menon asked for postponement of a vote over the week-end, and

> ". . . the U.S., Britain and Canada—at whose request Mr. Menon had twice revised his proposal . . . to safeguard the principle that none should be forced to return—voted against the postponement [because they were] assailed by fears that India might either withdraw the proposal or accept amendments proposed by the Soviet Union (N.Y. Times, 11/29)."

The Soviet amendments corresponded with the objection China raised from the start: that it would not accept any deviation from terms of the Geneva Convention which the U.S. has signed, under which all POW's must be promptly repatriated and any form of "screening" is illegal.

The episode was a further demonstration of the impossibility of UN being a peace- rather than a war-making body so long as one side in the war is barred from attendance.

POSTSCRIPT: Asian-Arab nations "greatly encouraged" the U.S. by voting solidly for the Indian resolution as amended to "safeguard the [U.S.] principle" of repudiating the Geneva Convention. "Much of this satisfaction was taken away" (**NYT**, 12/23) when the vote was taken on the U.S.S.R. resolution condemning the massacre of 84 POW's in Pongam camp. Instead of supporting the U.S., the Asian-Arab group (Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen) abstained.

WAR & PEACE

Dulles inherits a mess; Western Europe wallows in NATO stew

"The U.S. now confronts what amounts to the job of running the world . . . [Leadership is] the art of exploiting your subordinates."

—Vice-Adm. Harold M. Martin, addressing Naval Line School (Monterey, Calif.) graduates, Dec. 18.

AS one of his last major actions before handing over the running of half the world to Eisenhower's new Secy. of State John F. Dulles, Secy.

Acheson tried hard to push through the U.S. plan for a European Army including 12 German divisions. The progress report emerging from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's council last month in Paris was discouraging. As the Los Angeles **Times** noted (12/19):

> **Our European friends and allies were positively frightened by the size of their rearmament, all the help from this side notwithstanding.**

In **Britain,** Premier Churchill (in the U.S. this week for talks with Eisenhower) had already taken steps to slow down the arms program, extend the three-year military budget indefinitely.

France reported inability to add the three divisions promised to NATO. Even members of the late government coalition voiced protests against W. German soldiers in NATO; MRP (Catholic) member Andre Denis, just back from Germany, said France's role was

> **. . . to secure the acceptance of the only policy which can guarantee peace and consists in adjourning the ratification of the European army treaties and in opening Big Four negotiations which alone can provide a settlement of the German question.**

Holland was offering only three of the five divisions projected for 1954. **Italy** saw no hope of increasing 1953's military standing. **Belgium** had already slashed its military budget by 50%. **Canada,** with an election coming up, was stalling; Canadians (**Newsweek,** 12/29) had

> **. . . become fearful and suspicious of U.S. policy. . . . They . . . think the American concept of NATO puts too much emphasis on encirclement of Russia and is unnecessarily provocative. They would stress social, economic and political cooperation among the Western nations . . . for eventual diplomatic negotiations with the U.S.S.R. . . . Ottawa fears that "an unwise and impulsive" American move may explode a third world war. . . . And the surprisingly large number of Canadians barred from entry into the U.S. on suspicion of Communism seems to Canadians symptomatic of U.S. hysteria and political adolescence.**

Despite NATO commander Ridgway's warning that his forces were still below the "rock bottom minimum" needed (N.Y. **Times,** 12/11), members conceded that their efforts would be well below the Lisbon agreement in order to "avoid an economic crisis." The December conference also cut by half the 1953-54 bases and communications budget of $473 million.

THE YARDSTICK: It was declared, however, that the reduced budget would be enough to construct the "hard core" of NATO air bases and other facilities (**NYT,** 12/19). In this light the astute Colonel X, military analyst of the Paris **Tribune des Nations** (12/4), commented on Homer Bigart's N.Y. **Herald Tribune** story that the only yardstick by which to measure NATO's succcesses is "the number of combat-ready divisions." Colonel X wrote:

> **This would be true if the Atlantic alliance really proposed, as its spokesmen profess, only to defend Europe. . . . But if one thinks that the Atlantic alliance is merely a strategic device at the service of the U.S. General Staff, that its real aim is not the defense of Europe but preparation for driving back the U.S.S.R., then the "only yardstick" is the number of airdromes ready to receive strategic bombers. . . . Analysis of the military situation of the Atlantic allies . . . shows that [their] strategic plans are not at all the ones they though they approved. . . . Given the existing state of Atlantic rearmament, this corresponds with the preparation of a strategic offensive and, consequently, betrays the political principles in the name of which it was undertaken.**

That Washington saw Germany as the reliable provider of troops was clear: the U.S. had already set aside in military warehouses the necessary equipment (**NYT,** 12/15). French Foreign Minister Schuman appealed to Eisenhower to push the job. But in W. Germany public protest, spearheaded by the workers, against ratification of the rearmament treaties with the West continued to rise; meanwhile (**NYT** from Bonn, 12/23)

Dikobraz, Prague

> **. . . Allied officials agree that . . . the prestige and influence of Chancellor Adenauer are declining . . . and that there are political currents moving in Germany that are set against early ratification of the treaty system that would rearm Germany.**

STRONG MAN: Aware of the storm signals, Adenauer asked Washington

> **. . . for early dispatch to Bonn of a strong and active Ambassador who . . . would be able to hurry about Europe cajoling, threatening and pleading, and also talking tough to Germany's Socialists, on behalf of European unity . . . someone who understands the importance to Germany and Europe of ratification of the treaty and is ready to intervene emphatically** (NYT, 12/14).

In any case, according to **U.S. News** (12/26), a German army

> **. . . is to be expected whatever happens to treaty. U.S. is determined to rearm West Germans, work out some way to get them on the team.**

The Alsops reported (**NYHT,** 12/29) that, facing rising opposition "to the project for a European army, including the German contribution of 12 divisions," Eisenhower planned to send Dulles (U.S. lawyer for Nazi interests in the '30's) to Europe "to guide American policy."

NO. 17 IN FRANCE: In the midst of NATO's troubles the government of Premier Antoine Pinay—the 17th in France since World War II—fell last month as a result of Pinay's resignation. Ostensibly Pinay resigned because

(Continued on Page 8)

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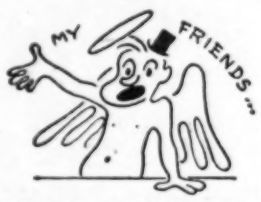

Guardian's Anniversary Get-Together

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CALENDAR

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Detroit

You are invited to attend an important lecture on "AFRICA IN THE WORLD TODAY." Speaker: Abner Berry, Negro Affairs Editor of The Worker, and brilliant lecturer, SUN., JAN. 11, 3 p.m., Jewish Cultural Center, 2705 Joy Rd., near Linwood. A film on Africa will also be shown. Auspices: Michigan Edition of The Worker.

San Francisco

ACROSS SIBERIA TO SOVIET ARMENIA, the California of the U.S.S.R. Isobel and Edwin Cerney, Bay Area teachers, report highlights of their 5½ months travel in Europe and Asia. Fri., Jan. 16, 8 p.m., 150 Golden Gate Av. Tickets 50c. American Russian Institute, SU 1-2395.

Oakland-Berkeley

SIDNEY ROGER - ASP FORUM. Noted liberal commentator analyzes news. Audience discussion. Every TUESDAY night, 8:15 p.m. Donation 50c. New ASP Gallery, 5919 Grove, Oakland.

Los Angeles

THE ROOSEVELT STORY. Semi-documentary feautre film; excellent review of events during FDR's term of office. Showing Jan. 18, 8 p.m., Sun.night. Also—doc. short "Power and the Land," by Joris Ivens. First Unifarian Church, 8th St., near Vermont.

New York

Forum: **THE PRESS & THE COLD WAR.** William Mandel, speaker. Fri., Jan. 9, 8:30 p.m., East Midtown Club, American Labor Party, 137 E. 34th St. Admission free.

THE CZECH TRIALS: ANTI-SEMITISM IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES? Lecture by Dr. Joshua Kunitz, authority on Russian history and literature. Chairman: Professor Corliss Lamont, author "Soviet Civilization." Mon., Jan. 19, 8:30 p.m. Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St. Adm: $1. Send or call for tickets. Monthly Review Associates, 218 W. 10th St. OR 5-6939.

DANCE AT A GALA FIESTA—The traditional Puerto Rican holiday of the Three Kings. Rhumbas, Mambos, Puerto Rican delicacies. Plus American social dancing to a name band! Entertainment, refreshments galore. Jan. 10, 8:30 p.m. UE Hall, 160 Montague St., Brooklyn. 75c. Ausp: Boro Hall-LaGuardia ALP.

"WHAT'S HOLDING UP CEASE FIRE." Guest speaker: Elmer Bendiner of the Guardian. Plus showing of Quaker Peace Film "A Time for Greatness." Donation: 35c. Sun., Jan. 11, 8 p.m., Room 22, Hunts Pt. Palace, 953 Southern Blvd. Ausp: Hunts Pt. Club ALP.

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General

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Dulles inherits a W. European mess

(Continued from Page 6)

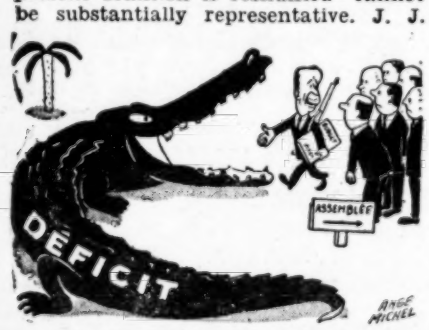
he felt shaky over an impending vote of confidence. He was attempting to put over a three-point program of tax reform and changes in family allotments. But behind his move were more serious matters: popular dissatisfaction over the costly war in Indo-China; refusal of big business to reduce its wide profit margins; unstable French foreign trade—and fears over the rearming of W. Germany.

At GUARDIAN press time France was still without a government after attempts to form one not only by party leaders in the shaky coalition of recent years, but also by De Gaullist Jacques Soustelle, had failed. Former Premier Bidault's willingness to sacrifice Foreign Minister Schuman, whose support of W. German rearmament has made him broadly disliked, roused no more interest than any of the other political maneuverings among Frenchmen, whose government—no matter how the present coalition is reshuffled—cannot be substantially representative. J. J. Servan-Schreiber reported (NYHT, 12/29) that the issue of German rearmament dominates the French political crisis; that "a heavy parliamentary majority" opposes ratification of the European Army treaty, and that a large group

> . . . regard an understanding between Russia and the West as still attainable in Europe as long as Germany is not rearmed.

With Eisenhower and Dulles about to take the European hot potato from Truman and Acheson, and "Ike heading powerful U.S. armed and tough," U.S. News (1/2) drew this picture:

> France faces more trouble, not less. French Empire may soon crack badly. . . . Spain is to move closer to U.S. side. . . . Allies are split over strategy in Europe. . . . Churchill will find Ike . . . not inclined to go on following British lead. . . . France will find Ike a little impatient. . . . Germany and Japan, during 1953, will begin seriously to rearm.



Carrefour, Paris

Pinay: "Who wants to follow me?"

LABOR

Militant unions get mauling in NLRB

A MANY-SIDED offensive against labor was shaping up last week, chiefly in the courts and the government boards. Congressional action was in the offing.

The National Labor Relations Board had taken the unprecedented step of demanding that officials of three independent unions (United Electrical Workers, American Communications Assn. and Intl. Fur and Leather Workers) "reaffirm" their Taft-Hartley non-Communist oaths. Earlier a grand jury handed down a "presentment" urging the NLRB to act against the three unions, along with the Distributive, Office and Processing Workers, for alleged fraud in the oath taking.

A Washington, D.C., federal court last week considered the unions' appeals from the NLRB requirement.

PACKINGHOUSE: The board also sought to wipe out bargaining rights of Local 80A, CIO United Packinghouse Workers, on the ground that business agent Anthony Valentino had been convicted of falsely signing the T-H oath. (Without NLRB certification the local could not compel employers to bargain with it, though it represents the overwhelming majority of employes.) CIO attorneys warned the NLRB action could open "an insane Pandora's box."

Dyad in Daily Worker, London

"Now we can turn down about 50 wage claims an hour."

At the 1952 CIO convention Packinghouse vice-president Russell Lasley told the GUARDIAN that the attack on Valentino and the local climaxed a long series of union-busting efforts by "race-baiters and Negro haters." (Local 80A is almost half Negro.)

ACTING ON ORDERS: During the bitter strike against Intl. Harvester by the Farm Equipment Div. of UE, decertification proceedings were started in several plants. At IH's West Pullman plant in Chicago, the CIO United Auto Workers attempted a raid; but by the time the board's election date neared, UAW had failed to gather enough signatures.

The ballot held only two alternatives: FE-UE or no union. With FE-UE sure of victory, the board last month postponed the election until UAW could gather enough strength to make the ballot. Board officials, according to a GUARDIAN correspondent, admitted privately they had acted on orders from Washington.

Also in the wake of the Harvester strike courts in Louisville, Ky., levied a $7,000 fine against local FE-UE leaders. The charge was parking a car across a road leading to a plant gate, making access difficult for scabs. The fines are being appealed; other contempt charges are being filed against three officers of the local.

MOVE AGAINST MATLES: On another front Attorney General McGranery opened proceedings to revoke the naturalized citizenship of UE Director of Organization James Matles. UE's three top officers, president Fitzgerald, secy.-treas. Emspak and Matles, were recently summoned before a grand jury to answer the "have you ever been" question; they declined on constitutional grounds. In Dayton, O., two local UE leaders were in jail charged with falsely signing T-H oaths.

BRIDGES FIGHTS ON: In San Francisco a Federal Court of Appeals last week refused to hear the appeal of longshore leaders Harry Bridges, Henry Schmidt and John R. Robertson. Union attorneys moved at once to take the 18-year old Bridges case, one of labor's crucial defenses, to the Supreme Court.

THE ERRAND BOYS: Abroad U.S. labor leaders continued to carry out State Dept. policy. At the 2nd Congress of the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization (American wing of the Intl. Confederation of Free Trade Unions) in Rio de Janeiro late last month, CIO's R. J. Thomas and AFL's Wm. Delaney bucked an overwhelming Latin-American tide. Denouncing a resolution offered by Bolivia's delegates in support of their country's nationalization of tin mines, Delaney said: "Nationalization has never been the goal of American trade-unionism."

With almost identical language Isidor Lubin, U.S. delegate to the UN Economic and Financial Committee, opposed a resolution affirming any nation's right to nationalize its own resources and condemning pressure by other nations to cancel that right.

LOS ANGELES

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